

## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

SAM-01 ACDA-05 IO-10 /076 W  
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R 071449Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4198

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

CINC EUR VAHINGEN

CINC USAREUR HEIDELBERG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 18254

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, GW

SUBJECT: CDU/CSU PROBLEMS WITH THE POLISH AGREEMENTS:

PART II

REF: BONN 17712, DTG: 301112Z OCT. 75

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE OPPOSITION DIFFICULTIES WITH THE  
POLISH AGREEMENTS DEMONSTRATE THE LEADERSHIP PROBLEMS

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OF CHANCELLOR-CANDIDATE HELMUT KOHL. ALTHOUGH THE

JOINT CDU/CSU FRAKTION IN THE BUNDESTAG VOTED OVERWHELMINGLY (174 - 11) TO REJECT THE AGREEMENTS WHEN THEY COME UP FOR A VOTE, KOHL'S HANDLING OF THE ISSUE REFLECTED NEGATIVELY ON THE OPPOSITION CHANCELLOR-CANDIDATE. THE DIFFERING VERSIONS OF THE BACKGROUND TO STRAUSS' LETTER CALLING FOR UNANIMOUS REJECTION OF THE AGREEMENTS BEFORE THE CHANCELLOR-CANDIDATE HAD MADE AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT, INDICATED THERE MAY HAVE BEEN A BREAKDOWN IN COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN STRAUSS AND KOHL. HOW THE AGREEMENTS WILL FARE IN THE BUNDESRAT REMAINS AN OPEN QUESTION. IT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT HELMUT KOHL STILL MUST COME TO GRIPS WITH THE PROBLEM OF HOW TO HANDLE HIS BAVARIAN COLLEAGUE IF HE HOPES TO LEAD THE UNION PARTIES TO VICTORY NEXT YEAR.

END SUMMARY

1. THE CDU AND CSU CONTINUE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE POLISH AGREEMENTS DILEMMA. THE JOINT FRAKTION IN THE BUNDESTAG VOTED (174 - 11) IN AN INTERNAL FRAKTION MEETING TO REJECT THE POLISH AGREEMENTS WHEN THEY COME BEFORE THE BUNDESTAG. THE FRAKTION VOTE TOOK PLACE AFTER A NUMBER OF SPEAKERS INCLUDING CHANCELLOR-CANDIDATE KOHL, CSU CHAIRMAN STRAUSS, FORMER CDU CHAIRMAN BARZEL AND FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER SCHROEDER ADDRESSED THE MEETING. ACCORDING TO ONE PARTICIPANT, ALTHOUGH KOHL ALSO CALLED FOR REJECTION OF THE TREATIES, HIS SPEECH CONTAINED OBLIQUE CRITICISM AGAINST STRAUSS. THE ONLY SURPRISE AMONG THE 11 OPPOSITION BUNDESTAG DEPUTIES WHO VOTED IN FAVOR OF APPROVING THE AGREEMENTS WAS THE INCLUSION OF A CSU DEPUTY, SCHULZE-VORBERG.

2. THE FRAKTION MEETING CAME THE DAY AFTER A STORMY SESSION OF THE CDU EXECUTIVE BOARD. AT THE EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING A NUMBER OF THE BOARD MEMBERS ARGUED IN FAVOR OF APPROVING THE AGREEMENTS. HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO ONE PARTICIPANT, IT WAS AGREED AT THE MEETING THAT A VOTE WOULD NOT BE TAKEN IN CASE THE RESULT MIGHT PROVE EMBARRASSING TO THE CDU CHAIRMAN.

3. THE INTERNAL SPLIT OVER THE POLISH AGREEMENTS HAS  
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CREATED DISMAY WITHIN THE UNION PARTIES. RANK AND FILE MEMBERS ARE UPSET THAT THE PARTIES' LEADERSHIP IS UNABLE TO BRING ABOUT THE SENSE OF SOLIDARITY AND UNITY WHICH THEY FEEL WILL BE NECESSARY FOR A SUCCESSFUL ELECTION CAMPAIGN. EVEN KOHL'S CLOSET ADVISERS AND SUPPORTERS ADMIT THAT THE CDU CHAIRMAN IN HANDLING THE ISSUE PROJECTED AN IMAGE OF WEAKNESS AND INDECISIVENESS.

4. ACCORDING TO ONE CDU OFFICIAL, STRAUSS AND KOHL HAD AGREED OVER A MONTH EARLIER THAT THEY WOULD BOTH PUBLICLY OPPOSE THE AGREEMENTS. KOHL'S SUPPORTERS CLAIM THAT HE HAD PLANNED TO ISSUE A STATEMENT OPPOSING THE AGREEMENTS AFTER HE INFORMED THE CDU/CSU FRAKTION ON OCTOBER 21 BUT THE SUDDEN DEATH OF HIS FATHER ON OCT. 20 PREVENTED HIM FROM ATTENDING THE FRAKTION MEETING. BEFORE KOHL HAD A CHANCE TO MAKE HIS STATEMENT, STRAUSS SENT OUT THE LETTER URGING ALL OPPOSITION MEMBERS IN THE BUNDESTAG AND BUNDESRAT UNANIMOUSLY TO

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INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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REJECT THE AGREEMENTS.

5. STRAUSS' VERSION OF THE BACKGROUND TO THE "LETTER AFFAIR" DOES NOT SQUARE EXACTLY WITH THE CDU VERSION. DURING A NOVEMBER 6 LUNCHEON MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR, STRAUSS SAID THAT HE AND KOHL HAD AGREED SOME TIME AGO THAT THEY BOTH WOULD PUBLICLY OPPOSE THE AGREEMENTS. CONFIDENTIAL

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HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO STRAUSS, AFTER HAVING WAITED TO NO AVAIL FOR KOHL TO MAKE A STATEMENT, STRAUSS GAVE AN INTERVIEW OCTOBER 19 IN "WELT AM SONNTAG" AND SAID THAT KOHL WOULD ALSO OPPOSE THE AGREEMENTS. THE NEXT DAY (THE 20TH) KOHL APPEARED TO VACILLATE IN HIS STATEMENT FOLLOWING THE CDU BOARD MEETING, ACCORDING TO STRAUSS, AND STRAUSS THEN DECIDED TO RELEASE HIS LETTER TO THE OPPOSITION BUNDESTAG DEPUTIES AND CDU/CSU MINISTER PRESIDENTS. THE LETTER, STRAUSS TOLD THE AMBASSADOR, HAD BEEN DRAFTED EARLIER BY TWO CDU MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEE AND STRAUSS HAD SIGNED IT, BUT HELD UP SENDING IT WHILE AWAITING A STATEMENT FROM KOHL OPPOSING THE AGREEMENTS.

6. STRAUSS ALSO TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT, WHEN THE DEBATE OVER THE AGREEMENTS TAKES PLACE IN THE BUNDESTAG, CARSTENS PLANS TO QUOTE GOVERNMENT ASSURANCES GIVEN IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE IN 1972 TO THE EFFECT THAT THE ORIGINAL POLISH TREATY COMMITTED THE POLES TO OPEN THE GATES AND ALLOW ETHNIC GERMANS TO LEAVE POLAND ONCE THE FRG APPROVED THE AGREEMENT. IN EFFECT, STRAUSS SAID, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY WAS "BUYING THE SAME COW TWICE." STRAUSS BELIEVED THAT THE POLISH AGREEMENTS WILL PASS THE BUNDESTAG GIVEN THE SPD/FDP MAJORITY BUT THAT ALL THE CDU/CSU LAENDER IN THE BUNDESRAT, INCLUDING THE SAARLAND, WILL, ON FIRST READING, VOTE TO RETURN THE AGREEMENTS TO THE BUNDESTAG TO CLARIFY A NUMBER OF OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS. STRAUSS DOES NOT EXPECT THE GOVERNMENT TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONS SATISFACTORILY AND IT IS LIKELY THAT THE BUNDESRAT WILL REJECT THE AGREEMENTS ON SECOND READING. THE EXPECTATION, ACCORDING TO STRAUSS, THAT THE SAARLAND WILL BREAK RANKS WITH THE OTHER CDU/CSU LAENDER HAS BEEN OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS. STRAUSS BELIEVES THAT NEW ELECTIONS WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE SAARLAND IN FEBRUARY AND THEREFORE IT WILL

NOT BE NECESSARY FOR THE SAARLAND GOVERNMENT TO VOTE FOR  
THE AGREEMENTS IN THE BUNDESRAT IN ORDER TO OBTAIN FDP  
APPROVAL FOR THE SAARLAND BUDGET. SECONDLY, STRAUSS  
SAID, MINISTER-PRESIDENT ROEDER HAD BELIEVED EARLIER  
THAT THE SAARLAND WOULD ONLY HAVE TO ABSTAIN IN THE  
BUNDESRAT IN ORDER FOR THE PENSION AGREEMENT TO BE  
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PASSED. STRAUSS EXPLAINED TO ROEDER THAT AN AFFIRMATIVE  
VOTE WOULD BE NECESSARY ON THE PART OF THE SAARLAND  
BECAUSE THE PENSION AGREEMENT REQUIRES AN ABSOLUTE  
MAJORITY IN THE BUNDESRAT FOR PASSAGE.

7. KOHL AND HIS SUPPORTERS ARE BITTER ABOUT THE STRAUSS  
LETTER WHICH MADE KOHL LOOK AS IF HE WERE TAKING HIS  
CUES FROM HIS BAVARIAN COLLEAGUE. AMONG CDU POLITICIANS,  
THERE IS CONSIDERABLE SPECULATION ABOUT STRAUSS' MOTIVES  
AND MANY BELIEVE THAT THE CSU CHAIRMAN WANTED TO  
EMBARRASS AND BELITTLE HELMUT KOHL. ONE LEADING CDU  
POLITICIAN (AN ENEMY OF STRAUSS) TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER  
THAT HE BELIEVED THAT STRAUSS WANTS A CDU/CSU VICTORY  
IN 1976 ONLY IF: A) HE WERE THE CHANCELLOR-CANDIDATE  
OR B) IF THE CHANCELLOR-CANDIDATE WERE A MAN HE COULD

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SAM-01 ACDA-05 IO-10 /076 W

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R 071449Z NOV 75

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INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
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USMISSION USBERLIN  
AMCONSUL BREMEN  
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF  
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FULLY RESPECT - WHICH RULES OUT HELMUT KOHL.

8. WHILE THE DECISION OF THE CDU/CSU FRAKTION TO  
OPPOSE THE POLISH AGREEMENTS REFLECTS POPULAR OPINION  
(A WICKERT POLL SHOWED THAT 66 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION  
OPPOSE THE AGREEMENTS), KOHL'S HANDLING OF THE SITUATION  
HAS CERTAINLY NOT DONE HIM ANY GOOD. THE DIFFERENCES  
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BETWEEN STRAUSS' AND KOHL'S VERSIONS OF THE "LEUTER  
INCIDENT" INDICATE THAT COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE  
TWO POLITICIANS MAY HAVE BROKEN DOWN. WHAT EVER THE  
REASONS, SUCH INCIDENTS ARE POLITICALLY EMBARRASSING.  
KOHL'S ADVISERS REALIZE THAT THE CHANCELLOR-CANDIDATE  
MUST COME TO GRIPS WITH THE PROBLEM OF HOW TO HANDLE  
FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS IF THE UNION PARTIES ARE TO BE  
VICTORIOUS NEXT YEAR.

9. IN THE MEANTIME, THE FATE OF THE AGREEMENTS WITH  
POLAND REMAINS IN DOUBT. THEY MAY BE APPROVED EVENTU-  
ALLY, BUT THE OUTCOME OF THE BUNDESRAT DEBATE WILL NOT  
BE KNOWN FOR SEVERAL MONTHS AND WILL BE SUBJECT TO THE  
VICISSITUDES OF THE GERMAN DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE.  
AN ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE POLISH EMBASSY THAT 2,533 EXIT  
PERMITS WERE ISSUED TO EHTNIC GERMANS IN OCTOBER -- THE  
MONTHLY AMOUNT NEEDED TO TOTAL THE 120,000 - 125,000  
EMIGRANTS IN FOUR YEARS PROVIDED FOR AIN THE AGREEMENTS -  
- WAS QUICKLY SUPPORTED BY THE FONOFF AS A SIGN OF THE

VALUE OF THE AGREEMENTS.

HILLENBRAND

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** VOTING, AGREEMENTS, POLITICAL PARTIES, PARTY FACTIONS, PARTY LEADERS, ELECTION CANDIDATES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 07 NOV 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ElyME  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975BONN18254  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750387-1102  
**From:** BONN  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19751165/aaaacfym.tel  
**Line Count:** 333  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 7  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 75 BONN 17712  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ElyME  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 23 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <23 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <15 OCT 2003 by ElyME>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CDU/CSU PROBLEMS WITH THE POLISH AGREEMENTS: PART II  
**TAGS:** PINT, GE, PO, CDU, CSU, (KOHLE, HELMUT), (STRAUSS, FRANZ JOSEF)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006